837 are that way. When their husbands go away they sleep with others. That is
581 why I want to marry a Brazilian woman."

837 The conflict between the sharing that is experienced and absolutely exclusive possession, which is simply and unqualifiedly theory, is far more fundamental in Kaingáng society than it is in our own. Adultery in Kaingáng society is not a circumstance of some marriages but a condition of practically all. Yet, although husband and wife live in constant suspicion of each other's loyalty, it rarely becomes desperate. Husbands do not as a rule follow their wives about, nor wives their husbands, although if there are good grounds for suspicion a husband may beat his wife or a wife her husband. He often leaves her for days at a time even when he knows that there are enterprising men still in camp and no one to chaperon her. This attitude really saves the culture from becoming a nightmare. In a society in which everyone believes that everybody else is engaged in seducing his neighbor's wife, suspicion backed by intense jealousy would drive people to desperation. But when Waipó leaves his wife to go across the river to make manioc all she has to say to him is a laughing, "You're going over there where everyone is living in very close quarters," and with a rough caress he is gone. One evening when Chukembégn and I were coming from the manioc mill I said to him, "Now that you've left your wife alone she may sleep with someone else." "I don't care; let her," said he. There is something more than mere bravado in this statement. It expresses the typical determination not to see what is not forced on one.

582 Since hunting is the most vital occupation, it might be supposed that a good hunter would be the most desirable husband. It might be felt also that since the Kaingáng used to be perpetually at war with the Brazilians, with the Kangdjá, and with their vendetta enemies, they would place a high premium on ferocity, daring, bravery, enterprise, and intelligence and that these traits would influence a woman in the choice of a husband. Nevertheless a number of attitudes combined to render all these qualities almost completely inoperative.

224 Although hunting is the very basis of their economy the Kaingáng,
654 curiously enough, do not recognize differences in hunting skill. If a man returns empty-handed from the hunt he and his wife may share their relatives' food without shame. In all the time I was among the Kaingáng I never heard an unsuccessful hunter spoken of with scorn nor saw one overcome with shame, and although she may scold him roundly, no wife ever leaves her husband for coming home without meat.

227 Just as they assume that all men are practically equals in hunting skill
167 the Kaingáng assume that all men are brave. Special emphasis is laid on this trait, therefore, only in exceptional cases. This holds also for intelligence, for the Kaingáng have a strong tendency to think of wisdom

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

and courage together. Today no one among them could be classed as outstanding in accordance with the fundamental feelings of Kaingáng society as it existed twenty years ago, for localization on the reservation, with its automatic suppression of feuds and raids on the Brazilians, has almost eliminated the necessity for making important decisions that call for the exercise of judgment and aggressiveness and has made considerations of ferocity and daring irrelevant. For an example of a really vital personality in Kaingáng society we must turn to the culture of twenty years ago when attacks on Brazilian settlements and pack trains raised daring and enterprise to the first importance and when dangers of surprise or the planning of a vendetta massacre enhanced the value of shrewdness, aggressiveness, ferocity, and wakefulness. Vomblé's father Kuthúgn, whom the Brazilians called Thunder Storm because he had a voice like thunder, was a dominating figure. Even the Indian agent spoke of him with profound respect, singling him out above all the others. When Vomblé sings his praises we can understand that it is not merely glorification of his own father. In one of his long feud stories Vomblé has Yatí, an old woman, say to an arrogant young man: "You think that you are men. If Kuthúgn heard what you were saying about him he would be angry. He is *swiĸayá*,[8] and therefore my in-laws listen to his counsel and go with him. That is why my in-laws give their women to him." Even the young man's brother reproved him for his arrogance, saying: "When I was young I used to go about with Kuthúgn and I have seen how wonderfully agile and vigorous he is. And he is exactly that way now. His relatives tell how he kills Brazilians. See his property beside him!" Kuthúgn's property was not a measure of his importance as a wealthy man but a sign that he had made many raids on the Brazilians. The equation of *swiĸayá* and wisdom is borne out by other remarks of Vomblé about his father: "He was a thinker. He always spoke to people when there was anger. He was like a captain. If the people did not do the right thing he always spoke to them. Therefore he killed many Brazilians."

This, then, was the ideal man: swift as lightning in the handling of his weapons and the shifting of his massive body, enterprising and daring in raids, shrewd in judgment—*swiĸayá*. Kuthúgn was all of fifty years old when Yatí made this judgment of him. The great warriors among the Kaingáng were not the young men but the middle-aged—the men between fifty and sixty. The *kôlá*, the young men between fifteen and thirty-five could marry and have children, they could go on raids, and they might kill,

[8] The literal meaning of *swiĸayá* is "self-love." Any daring, ferocious, quarrelsome, malicious person is *swiĸayá*. These characteristics are directly related to a Kaingáng's opinion of himself and the good impression which he has tried to make on others, and which he deems of paramount.

In 1 and 5 *ðen* and *kwa* are functional elements. *kwa* occurs rarely. With the exception of 1 the other verbs on this list seem to be either onomatopoetic (as 2), or symbolic (as 3 and 5), or reduplicated (as 4, from *wi* to avert the eyes); the Kaingang discription of a stupid person emphasizes particularly the wandering of the eyes).

90 Turn around a long object on the long axis, its length being parallel to the horizontal plane. *ðɔ* is a formal element. Verbs beginning with *ð* change the *ð* to *y* or *ɲ* when they are preceded by a direct object. I have no examples with this verb but I give below some others:

ðɔŋgukˈtaŋ	*ŋgwˈke*	*ŋũ mɯ*
pity	habitually	I

I have pity.

ti	*ka ẽ*	*ti*	*yɔŋgukˈtaŋ ŋa*
he	him		pity

He pities him.

vˈyolo	*pun*	*ˈve*	*kẽ*	*ti*	*ðaˈtẽ* *mɯ*
tapir	foot	see	and	he	go after (pursue)

When he saw the tapir's tracks he went after (him).

ɔŋ	*ka ẽ*	*ɯŋ*	*ɲaˈðen*	*ŋa*
they	me		pursue	

They pursued me.

Modifiers change in the same way when preceded immediately by the element they modify

Examples:

ðɔˈŋgla	*kɔ*

smooth (pretty, good) is

He is pretty.

For the meaning of *ko* see Note 92

a	*ðe*	*tukˈtɯn*	*yɔˈŋgla*

your heart to wrap with narrow binding good

tɔŋ	*ˈmɯ*	*kẽ*	*ɯŋ*	*ɯmŋ*	*ɲa* *ka*

this know and me look stand a long time

Look at this, your heart-bundle (a hunting charm) and stand looking at me.

[p.209 (A)]